

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 03886 01 OF 02 041552Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 /084 W
-----085174 041624Z /45

O 041515Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8304
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 3886

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, US, SF, WA
SUBJECT: OBSERVATIONS ON NEGOTIATING PROCESS RE NAMIBIA

REF: PRETORIA 3807 AND 3815

1. TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE SAG VIEWS EXPRESSED ON AUGUST 1 AND THE CG'S FIRST MEETING WITH SWAPO LEADERS ON AUGUST 8, WE WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT THE FOLLOWING IDEAS ON THE NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATING PROCESS.
2. IT IS CLEAR THAT WE MUST INSIST THAT THE SAG NOT GO FORWARD WITH ITS PLANS TO GAZETTE THE APPOINTMENT AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL BY AUGUST 22 UNLESS BETWEEN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 03886 01 OF 02 041552Z

NOW AND THEN THE UNSYG IS IN A POSITION TO NAME HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHORTLY THEREAFTER, WHICH FROM HERE DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY.

3. WE SHOULD FOLLOW UP ON THE OPENING WHICH VORSTER GAVE US ON AHTISAARI. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE APPROACH MADE BY THE FIVE HERE TO VORSTER BE CONVEYED TO WALDHEIM, TOGETHER WITH

OUR ASSESSMENT OF VORSTER'S REACTION, IN AN EFFORT TO GET WALDHEIM INFORMALLY TO SOUND OUT THE SAG WITH A LIST OF FOUR OR FIVE NAMES INCLUDING AHTISAARI.

4. WITH REGARD TO TROOP WITHDRAWAL, WE BELIEVE THAT AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BY THE SAG AND SWAPO COVERING THE SECURITY ISSUE TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT WHEN THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ARRIVES IN NAMIBIA AND DEPLOYS HIS PERSONNEL TO KAVANGO, OVAMBO AND CAPRIVI MIGHT PROVIDE A BASIS FOR REMOVING THE ANXIETIES OF THE TWO SIDES. VORSTER GAVE US TO UNDERSTAND ON AUGUST 1 THAT IF SWAPO MILITARY OPERATIONS CEASE, THERE WOULD NO LONGER BE A NEED TO HAVE TROOPS STATIONED ALONG THE BORDER AND THESE COULD BE WITHDRAWN. THIS COULD BE CONFIRMED AS AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO WITHDRAW, SUBJECT TO THE ONE CAVEAT. PRESUMABLY SWAPO WOULD NOT AGREE TO CEASE OPERATIONS UNLESS THE SAG TROOPS ARE TAKEN OUT. IF WE COULD NAIL DOWN AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BY BOTH SIDES TO THIS EFFECT, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BECOME OPERATIONAL WHEN THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ARRIVES IN NAMIBIA AND HAS HIS OWN PEOPLE IN THE AREA TO MONITOR SAG WITHDRAWAL ON THE ONE HAND AND CESSATION OF SWAPO OPERATIONS ON THE OTHER, WE MAY HAVE THE MARKINGS OF A SOLUTION TO THIS ASPECT OF THE SETTLEMENT.

5. THE STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION MIGHT RUN SOMETHING LIKE THIS:

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 03886 01 OF 02 041552Z

A) UPON ARRIVAL OF UNSR PERSONNEL IN OVAMBO, KAVANGO AND CAPRIVI, THE SAG WILL CONCENTRATE ALL ITS FORCES IN DESIGNATED ENCAMPMENTS PREPARATORY TO WITHDRAWAL. SWAPO WOULD LIKEWISE RECALL ALL ITS FORCES TO ITS BASES IN ANGOLA.

B) WITHIN A TWO-WEEK PERIOD, ALL SAG FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM THE DESIGNATED ENCAMPMENTS IN BORDER AREA WITH A TO-BE-DETERMINED NUMBER ALLOWED TO REMAIN AT THE SADF MILITARY BASE AT GROOTFONTEIN UNDER THE OBSERVATION OF UN OBSERVERS AND THE REMAINDER TO RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA. UNSR REPRESENTATIVES WOULD MEANWHILE SEEK THE PERMISSION OF THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT TO VISIT SWAPO CAMPS TO INITIATE THE PROCESS OF REPATRIATION OF THOSE WHO WISH TO RETURN. (NOTE: ALLOWING SOME SAG FORCES TO REMAIN AT GROOTFONTEIN IS POLITICALLY IMPORTANT TO VORSTER TO AVOID CHARGES THAT HE IS ABANDONING THE WHITE POPULATION. IF TROOPS WHICH REMAIN ARE RESTRICTED TO GROOTFONTEIN AND UNDER UNSR OBSERVATION, THEIR ABILITY TO INTERFERE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WOULD BE MINIMAL.)

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 03886 02 OF 02 041604Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 /084 W
-----085397 041625Z /45

O 041515Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8305
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 3886

C) FROM THE TIME THAT FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN FROM THE BORDER
AREA UNTIL ELECTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, THERE
WOULD BE A PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM GROOTFONTEIN
TO REDUCE THE FORCES TO A TOKEN SIZE COMPLEMENT. AT THE SAME
TIME, THERE WOULD BE A PROGRESSIVE REPATRIATION OF SWAPO
ADHERENTS WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF REDUCING THE EFFEC-
TIVENESS OF THE SWAPO CAMPS.

D) AFTER THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, PREFERABLY ALL SA FORCES
WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AND THE SWAPO CAMPS IN ANGOLA CLOSED
ALLOWING THE NEW INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE WHAT
SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IT WANTS TO MAKE FOR THE FUTURE.

E). WE SHOULD PRESS THE SAG TO TRANSFER THE POLICE FUNCTION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 03886 02 OF 02 041604Z

FROM PRETORIA TO WINDHOEK AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. BOTHA MEN-
TIONED THIS POSSIBILITY. PRESUMABLY THE POLICE WOULD CONTINUE
UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE AG, WITH UNSR SATISFYING HIM-

SELF THAT THEY CONFINED THEIR ACTIONS TO LAW AND ORDER AND DID NOT INTERFERE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

6. AS PART OF THE FOREGOING UNDERSTANDING, THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE TO INSIST THAT THE SAG PUT AN END FORTHWITH TO ITS TRAINING OF ETHNICALLY-BASED MILITARY UNITS. THERE NO LONGER WOULD BE A NEED FOR THEM IN TERMS OF SWAPO OPERATIONS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FUTURE MILITARY FORCE WOULD BEST BE LEFT TO THE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT THAT EMERGES AT THE END OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE FORCES BEING TRAINED NOW OBVIOUSLY HAVE TURNHALLE BIAS WHICH IS UNACCEPTABLE.

7. WITH RESPECT TO DETAINEES AND POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE FIVE HAVE TAKEN A POSITION AGAINST TYING THEIR RELEASE WHICH THEY CANNOT ABANDON. HOWEVER, SIR DAVID SCOTT IN BRIEFING US AND THE SAG ON THE STATE OF THINGS IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA LEFT US WITH IMPRESSION THAT NYERERE WAS PREPARED TO RELEASE THE ONES BEING HELD IN THIS COUNTRY, INCLUDING SHIPANGA, IF THEY WERE TO PROCEED TO NEUTRAL THIRD COUNTRIES, SUCH AS THE FIVE, AS A WAY STATION TO NAMIBIA, ASSUMING THEY WANT TO RETURN. IF HE COULD BE ENCOURAGED TO DO THIS SOON (AND SIR DAVID LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE MIGHT), THEN WE WOULD HAVE MORE LEVERAGE ON VORSTER TO MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL RELEASE OF THOSE ON THE LIST HE GAVE US ON AUGUST 1.

8. THE LONDON MEETING ON AUGUST 12, COMING ON THE HEELS OF THE MEETING OF THE CG WITH SWAPO, OF COURSE, OFFERS AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW UP ON THESE MATTERS.
BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, PLANNING MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 04-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR03886
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770279-0957
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770896/aaaaddwb.tel
Line Count: 198
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 179efc61-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 PRETORIA 3807
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1708148
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OBSERVATIONS ON NEGOTIATING PROCESS RE NAMIBIA
TAGS: PORG, US, SF, WA
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/179efc61-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009